614 power is, the more ying [strong, lit., hard or tough] he be-
622 comes. So anyone who is powerful enough to be pao-t'ou is
555 ying tu-tu. Chih-t'ieh died a few years ago. Following his death, his power and influence came to an end. The position of leadership is achieved by a Lolo through his own individual accomplishments. It remains with him during his lifetime, but is not hereditary.

After Chih-t'ieh's death, his successor was not his own son, but his cousin, named Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, who was descended from the same paternal great-grandfather. Ta-chi, now thirty-five years old, is a capable and competent black Lolo. When the
159 author made this investigation trip to Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-
555 liang Shan, Ta-chi was employed as pao-t'ou for the team. Ta-chi's father, Ch'uan-erh, was a pao-t'ou around the Ma-ching-tzu area. In the rebellion of 1919, he was one of the chief instigators. After the riot he returned to his native village of San-ho-i-ta and died there of sickness afterwards. During that time Ta-chi, who was only eleven years old, was left a poor lonely orphan with no one to support him. After more than ten years of hard struggle, he finally managed to get ahead, later married, and had children. Gradually he has accumulated some savings and is now considered a wealthy man in San-ho-i-ta. Ta-chi has two younger sisters. The elder one was married to Hu Hsing-min who lived in Wu-chio west of Lei-po. Five or six years ago, Hu Hsing-min died and was survived by his wife and two young
● [593] daughters. In order to help his sister manage her household affairs, Ta-chi often traveled back and forth between Lei-po
[177] and Ta-liang Shan. Having had more contact with the Han-Chinese and learned more about things in the outside world than the others, he is one of the comparatively enlightened black Lolo in Liang Shan. Because of his popularity, Ta-chi soon became the leader of the Li-ch'ü branch of San-ho-i-ta to succeed Chih-t'ieh. This time when Ta-chi led the author and his inspection team to the mountain region, it was his first assignment as headman-protector of the Han-Chinese traveling in Liang Shan. For this trip he was branded a Han-Chinese by
[609] two of his clan uncles in the village. Lolo [20] hostility towards outsiders can readily be seen from this instance.

622 Ma-liu Wan in Hsiao-liang Shan is also a Li-ch'ü vil-
614 lage. Its chief, Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u, was formerly a well-known rebellious Lolo, but in his old age he changed his attitude by submitting to government rule and living quietly as the head-
682 man in Ma-liu Wan. Pieh-t'u had a son who was intelligent
614 and smart. Once he was playing with pistols with Ta-i, Pieh-
555 t'u's clan nephew, in front of Shan-wang Miao and was

836 While intermarriage between black and white Lolo is
564 customarily prohibited, an illicit relationship between a black
848 Lolo male and white Lolo female is tolerated. The children of such a relationship are called "yellow bones," that is, offspring of "black bone" males and "white bone" females. The "yellow bones" are accepted by neither the black nor the white Lolo, and their social position is quite precarious. It is similar to the position of the mulattoes, the offspring of the White and the Negro in America.

582 Secondly, marriage within a Lolo clan is prohibited.
614 All marriages have to be [50] sought outside the clan. This is called clan exogamy. In Chapter 2, clan organization has been described in detail. Through a single-descendant patrilineal family, the Lolo are able to preserve the unity of the clan groups mainly through clan exogamy. According to their tradition, brothers and sisters have a ma dzz gni mo relationship and no marriage is allowed between them. This kind of brother-sister relationship is extended to collateral branches to include father's brother's sons and daughters and eventually all the males and females of the same generation [who are descended from males] within the patrilineal clan, all of whom are strictly prohibited to intermarry.

593 Within the Lolo family, brothers and sisters both grow up under parental protection. Their relationship is affectionate but formal, and licentious behavior between them is absolutely forbidden. Although love affairs are quite common among the Lolo, a brother should not flirt with another girl in front of his sister. Similarly, a man is not allowed to flirt with a girl in the presence of her brother; otherwise her brother would beat him, and their quarrel, once stirred up, might lead to a clan feud. Male and female members of the
602 same clan, between whom marriage is prohibited because of
614 age-old traditions, usually behave toward each other in accordance with a formal code of propriety.

582 Thirdly, since the Lolo have to select their mates from within the same class but outside the clan, what kind of family group is the best from which to seek an ideal mate? According to Lolo tradition, the ideal marriage partner is ego's cross-cousin; hence there are numerous cases of cross-cousin marriage. In Lolo families, if a girl's paternal aunt has a boy and the boy's maternal uncle is the father of the girl, then the boy's family has priority in sending a matchmaker to negotiate for the girl's hand. For this reason the maternal uncle dare not marry his daughter into another family. Likewise, the son of a girl's maternal uncle has the

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

585 On the fourth day the bride returns to her parents' house with the groom. They do not talk to each other on the way. Upon arrival, the new son-in-law greets his parents-in-law with offerings of sheep, pigs, and wine and is in turn entertained with wine by them. The same afternoon he returns 591 home without the bride, who remains in her parents' home. This custom is called tso-chia, meaning "staying home."

The tso-chia period varies from one or two years to three or five. During this inspection trip [58], the author frequently met brides who had been staying home with their parents. While there, she can enjoy a loose romantic life without [837] being interfered with by father or elder brothers who pretend to pay no attention to her. During her stay with her parents, she wears the same dress as the bride. Day and night she chases and plays around with the young men of the neighborhood or her male cross cousins. She, too, enjoys sexual freedom.

During the same period the groom can also contact the bride and make love. It is only when the bride becomes pregnant 843 that the groom takes her to his father's house. The first 848 child usually is not the child of the groom, but he has to recognize it as his child.

592 Having learned that his bride is pregnant, the groom immediately sets out to build a new house for the bride to live in as no married son can stay in the same house with his parents. [583] After the husband and wife have formally lived together, the wife's father's family then sends the entire dowry to them. [428] Among the Lolo, both male and female have the right of inheritance; therefore, the daughter's dowry is also a part of the property given her by her parents. It includes silver, slaves, food, oxen, sheep, and even land.

594 Because of this marriage relationship, the Lolo newlyweds have the economic basis to establish a family. The 583 house built for them by the parents of the man's family and the dowry sent by the girl's family all provide the economic conditions necessary for establishing a family. After that, the couple live a normal family life, both male and female cooperating in efforts for economic improvement. They bear and rear children to shoulder the common parental responsibility.

593 Although a Lolo wife is obtained through money payment and her marriage is one form of bartered marriage, she 562 has the same position in the family as the man. Since they have a small family and do not live with the husband's parents, there is no problem of conflict between mother-in-law and

593 daughter-in-law. The wife has the full authority to manage
562 household affairs because the husband is always away making political contacts, fighting clan feuds, or other activities. Assigning the slaves to such household work as farming,
[462] cattle-breeding, weaving, cooking, taking care of the children, storage of food, repairing tools, and others is all done and supervised by the mistress of the house.

593 The outward relationship between husband and wife is formal. They do not speak to each other carelessly or laugh without cause. When Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, the headman-protector of our inspection team, returned home after having been away for three months, he did not say a single word to his wife En-cha shih when they first met. They looked as though they had never seen each other before. On the other hand, Ta-chi's brothers and sisters all ran in to greet him, talking and laughing intimately. It was only after the clan members had dispersed that Ta-chi had a tête-à-tête with his wife. Much exhausted after the long journey, he lay down on the floor to doze off as En-cha shih sat beside the stove, smoking and talking incessantly. [59] Apparently she was reporting what had happened at home during his absence. Although his eyes were closed, Ta-chi listened quietly, sometimes interrupting her with a few words as though to comfort or to criticize. At that time, the inspection personnel and the interpreters had gone elsewhere, but I was too fatigued from travel to go outside. So I was also sitting on the ground to rest and had a chance to observe their conversation.

593 Being built on a solid economic basis, the Lolo family
562 has no worries about daily food and clothing. This stabilized
614 life makes husband and wife live together harmoniously and pass their days in peace and ease. Sometimes, however, their relationship may become strained and conflict arise. In such a case, the husband dare not mistreat or beat his wife because of her strong family background. If the wife should
[628] rush back to her parents' home to complain of ill treatment from her husband, her clan members would immediately gather together to organize a punitive force. If the husband's clan offers any resistance, then the conflict would develop into a clan feud. So due to the support of her parents' clan, the wife occupies quite a high status in the family.

586 The wife seldom elopes with another man. When it happens, the husband can request his parents-in-law to repay the betrothal money. The latter do their best to find the woman and return her to her husband. On the other hand, if the husband does not like his wife or if he has another woman and

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

583 bridegroom to come along any day, bent on the capture of a bride, whose virtues and accomplishments have become known far away from home. Youth is the time of romance even on the hills of Western China, and the rich folk have by no means a monopoly of this romance.

622 As An Yong-Chi grew up he took to the study of Chinese, and later on, at a neighbouring town, entered the lists for the coveted degree of B.A., which carried great weight under the rule of the Manchus. He succeeded in the struggle, and was very proud of his literary accomplishments. On one occasion I presented him with a Bible. He returned it later on, saying that he could write a better book than that, and asking me to give him a modern pistol instead. This was rather a take-down for an enterprising missionary. These rebuffs, however, do not dishearten one, for one takes them all as part of the day's work and fun. And it is good to meet a man who has a great idea of his own attainments. After all, it is not so rare to find men who place higher value on weapons of war than on the Bible, and these do not all live outside of Europe and Christendom. Still, it was a bit startling to find a man whose name was "Peace which glories" so desirous to possess an up-to-date pistol.

622 On my return from furlough in 1910, I was very sorry to
593 hear that Mr An, the Earth Eye, was dead. His enormous estates were left to his two sons, who were both under twenty years of age. The story of this young Earth Eye, the second of the two brothers, is one of the most tragic stories I have ever heard, and I have heard a great many while living in West China. He it was who disguised himself as a strolling player, to get a good look at the pretty daughter of Ah-yee. As long as the father was alive the

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boy kept himself within reasonable bounds, and no one ever dreamed of the fate which awaited him, a fate comparable to the first great tragedy which broke in on the happiness of man. After the father's death, the boy lost all control over himself, and gave himself up to unbridled dissipation. He came and lived not far from where I am writing this story, and soon had the whole country-side in a state of terror. Being one of the overlords of these immense estates, on which are more than a hundred villages and market-towns, he could do almost as he liked, and none dared to oppose. The stories of his sudden raids on the homes of the people, and the terrible orgies he gave himself up to, seem almost incredible, but they are vouched for as true. He tried to kidnap a young bride one day, and this led to a gathering of the clans, bent on murdering him, if he dared to appear. The folk were driven to desperation. Seeing the opposition he had provoked, he retired for a while. Then came rumours of great trouble between the two brothers. The elder brother had been lately married, and the younger brother got too free with the bride. A great quarrel ensued, and at last it seemed as if the young rake were plotting to kill his elder brother, in order to appropriate the bride to himself. The elder brother quickly made up his mind, and determined that if one had to die it should not be he. He then sent off and hired a noted Chinese boxer, who was willing to do any cruel deed for a consideration. The boxer was promised a large sum of money if he would assassinate the younger brother. He agreed to the terms, and one night, in the castle, the terrible deed was performed. The young fellow fought hard at first, and it looked as if he would succeed in getting away. But others came to the assistance of the boxer, and in spite

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622 of all the beggings and entreaties of the young fellow, who
593 was but a big boy, he was killed right out. There was no one to stop Cain and his murderous tools. After the fell deed was completed, the boxer disappeared for a while, and the body was duly buried. But the story of Cain repeated itself. No peace came to the elder brother. I went to see him, and found him full of terror. Ghosts appeared in the castle every night. The spirit of the murdered man haunted the place. It seemed almost as if the brother who was living would go mad under the strain of terror. I never heard that he was sorry for his cruel action. It was sheer
622 terror of the spirit of the dead. Then some black wizard
593 came on the scene, and said that blood could only be atoned
782 for by blood, and that the dead man would never lie quiet in his grave until sacrifice had been made to him. This wizard's advice was followed, and steps were taken to perform the sacrifice. The boxer, Mr Peng, was sent for to receive the balance of the blood money, and he came quite unsuspectingly. He duly reached the castle where the fell deed had been committed, and was lodged in a temple outside the walls. He was well fed and hospitably entertained, with promise of payment on the morrow. Tired with his journey, he went to sleep, possibly thinking of the silver that was soon to be his. During the still hours of the night the servants of the Cain Earth Eye crept into the temple, and swiftly and suddenly bound the sleeping boxer. Had he been awake he undoubtedly would have made a big struggle for his life, and more blood might have been shed before superior numbers overpowered him. Bound like a pig, Mr Peng the great boxer was taken in the dead of night to the grave of the murdered Earth Eye. Here he was

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offered up to the dead man. First of all he was stripped, and gashes were cut in his back with a sword. Into these gashes ceremonial candles were stuck, and these were lighted for the dead. What must have been the feelings of the living sacrifice one cannot imagine. When the candles had burnt right out, the boxer was cut into six pieces and the severed corpse was thrown away for wolves or dogs to devour. The spirit of the boxer was in this way supposed to be sent into the underworld, to have it out with the spirit of the murdered Earth Eye. Funny place the Hades imagined by these people must be!

Nothing was ever done by the officials in connection with these inhuman crimes. Relatives came down on the elder brother, but their one idea was blackmail under threat of vengeance. These indignant relatives were all placated by gifts of land from the estates of the elder brother.

Peace has, however, not come to this modern Cain. He wanders about from place to place, and has often come over to see me. Two years ago he spent Christmas with us, and helped to share our English Christmas dinner. There was another Earth Eye at the same table, and he also was a murderer—that is, has caused others to lose their lives in the manner so common among these landed gentry of China's Western Hills. The pair did not form a very inspiring company to share a good plum-pudding with. My wife, however, tried to make them comfortable, and though it was as if Pilate and Herod were gathered around the table of the Peasant of Galilee, we managed to forget most of the troubles of the past in the joys of the present.

This second Earth Eye was on one occasion captured by the officials, and thrown into prison at Chaotung Fu. Not

[179 cont.]

534 The other tribes also make guitars with long necks and with two or three strings, and the big flutes with a single tube formed of a long reed which fits into a calabash.

631 The "Lolo" groupings settled in Tonkin are too dispersed and too mixed up with the groupings of other races to have their own administration.

622 631 648 The "Lolo" hamlets or villages are headed by a "siao-phay," who administratively comes under the control of either a "Méo" "ping-t'éou" or a "Lolo" "tcha-tao" (where several "Lolo" villages are contiguous), or a "Thai" "ly-truong."

In principle, the chiefs are chosen from the tribe which has the numerical preponderance, it is thus that small "Méo" settlements attached to more important "Lolo" settlements are under the authority of a "Lolo" chief.

621 The "Lolo" of Tonkin, separated for many centuries from the larger groupings from which they originated, have retained no vestige or definite recollection of their former organization.

593 428 The family constitutes the true social unit. Property rights and the customs of inheritance show some special characteristics, whose purpose is to assure the transmission of the property within the family of the husband.

423 The "Lolo" is the owner of his irrigated rice fields, which he disposes of as he wishes. He considers himself as only the usufructuary of the mountain areas cultivated.

768 428 When the head of a family dies, his goods, real and personal, are divided among his male children. In default of male children, the belongings are divided in half, one part goes to the wife of the deceased, the other part to the brothers and nephews of the husband. When the wife dies in her turn, her part reverts likewise to the brothers and nephews of the husband.

The mountain areas are subject to a similar division, but without losing the character of usufruct. Also, if one of the male children or one of the other heirs is unable to cultivate the entire portion that has come to him, the uncultivated excess again becomes common property and cannot be sold to other families.

[179 cont.]

The head of the family exercises very great authority, to which
593 his children are completely amenable until the day when they establish new households.

[180] The customs relative to childbirth appear to present no
853 862 peculiarities other than the following:

Every three days the child is given a little chewed rice.

Nursing lasts only one year.

The "Lolo" sometimes adopt children, which families of their
597 tribe having numerous children either surrender or sell to them.

The adopted child takes the name of his new family and enjoys the same rights as the legitimate children.

The marriage request is made by two friends of the young man
584 who present themselves at the home of the young woman, carrying certain articles of food (fowl and rice).

A family council, made up of relatives of the young woman, examine and discuss the proposal. In case of refusal, the two intermediaries withdraw, carrying the articles of food. In case of acceptance, these articles of food are eaten on the spot.

The young man, advised of the favorable answer given his
583 proposal, returns with his two friends, carrying gifts, and settles with his future father-in-law the amount of the dowry, then the date
585 of the marriage. On the day agreed upon, the fiancée is conducted to the home of the young man, accompanied by her brothers and sisters, by two old women, and by the two intermediaries. When evening arrives, the marriage is celebrated by a great feast followed by dances. Six days later, the newlyweds spend two days in the home
591 of the young wife, then go and spend a night in the home of the husband. After this, the bride returns and resides in her parents' house, where she remains until the day that pregnancy appears certain. Then she comes to establish herself permanently in her husband's house.

We have already found this last custom among the "Tho" of the
[171] Si Kiang and among the "Nung." This agreement is not lacking in interest. It has not been possible for us to determine the epoch to which this custom goes back among the "Lolo" of Tonkin.

The young folks may marry against the wishes of their parents,
583 as we have already seen among the "Méo." The young man carries